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John D. DeFree

READ—REFLECT—CIRCULATE.

# AN APPEAL

TO THE

# COMMON SENSE OF THE PEOPLE.

It is the duty of every man having a right to vote to inform himself on all subjects affecting the welfare of his country. It is no less his duty to vote in accordance with his convictions as to what is best, uninfluenced by party names, or by those assuming to be party leaders. In a Republic, every man should do his own thinking and voting as becomes a freeman.

Vital principles of government and measures of public policy are involved in the result of the approaching Presidential election. It should be the wish of every one to arrive at a just conclusion on these subjects. This cannot be done without a knowledge of those principles and measures, and the reasons for and against them. The candid and thoughtful attention of the reader is respectfully asked to their consideration.

The Republicans maintain, as a principle essential to the existence of the government, the SUPREMACY of the United States touching all things granted to them by the people under the Constitution, thus constituting them a sovereign NATION, while recognizing all the rights reserved to the States when the Constitution was framed.

The Democratic party is now, as heretofore, controlled by its Southern leaders, who deny and denounce this principle of govern-

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ment, calling it, in their Cincinnati platform, "Centralization," which they threaten to disregard.

In 1861, because Mr. LINCOLN had been elected President, they rebelled against this principle of government, claiming that each State is sovereign and has a right to secede whenever it desires to do so. They attempted to maintain this doctrine by making war upon the general government. Failing to overthrow it, now, by the consolidation of the "solid South," (of which they boasted at the Cincinnati Convention,) they are attempting to seize upon its control. Are the plain honest people willing that they shall do it? That is to be determined by the election in November next.

The Republicans maintain that there should be, for the transaction of business, a national circulating medium of gold and silver, or of bank notes for which gold or silver may be had at the will of the holder. The experience of the most enlightened and civilized nations has demonstrated the utter fallacy of all attempts to substitute anything else for them. The leaders of the Democratic party are opposed to this, as shown by the fact that every Democratic Senator and Representative in Congress voted against the resumption act at the time of its passage. The evidence of this is to be found in the third volume of the *Congressional Record*, part 1, of the 43d Congress, 2d session, pages 208 and 319, should it be denied. This is not all. After its passage, their National Convention in 1876 demanded its repeal, and Democratic members of Congress made many efforts to procure its repeal.

Now that this Republican measure has, despite Democratic opposition, given the country the best and safest money it has ever had, bringing about a revival of business, the Cincinnati Convention professed to be in its favor in the hope of deceiving the people! Men are better known by their *acts* than by their professions. The people are not the fools these men seem to think them to be. If they were *honest* and sincere in their professions, why is it that they are now supporting a candidate for Governor

of Indiana who is an avowed inflationist and an advocate of irredeemable paper money? Why is it that they have formed a coalition with the Greenback irredeemable paper-money men of Maine? They *are* honest hard-money men with a vengeance! Are such men worthy the confidence of the people?

As the circulation of gold and silver alone would be cumbersome and inconvenient, the Republicans established the national banking system, which gives the people a currency for which they can obtain gold or silver on demand. As every dollar issued by these banks is secured by a pledge of United States bonds deposited in the United States Treasury, no bill-holder has ever lost a cent by them, nor is it possible for him to do so, unless the government itself becomes insolvent.

Notwithstanding these facts, the leaders of the Democratic party are determined to destroy this system of banking, and they will do it should they obtain power. They attempt to arouse the prejudices of the people against it by the senseless cry of "monopoly." Let us see how much ground there is for this cry. Any number of persons not less than five may establish a bank by purchasing United States bonds and filing them with the Treasurer of the United States to secure the payment of the notes they may issue for circulation. Certainly there can be no monopoly in a business in which any man may engage should he desire to do so. Can there be anything more ridiculous than this cry of "monopoly"? It scarcely reaches the dignity of third-rate demagogery!

The interest on the bonds which secure their circulation must be paid, whether owned by the banks or by individuals, so there can be no objection to their use for banking purposes. Since the establishment of this system, these banks have paid $92,754,791 into the United States Treasury as a tax on their circulation and deposits, besides an equal amount in taxation to the States where located. In addition to this advantage to the national government and to the States, they are of still greater advantage to the business interests of the people. Located in all the towns where there

is enough business to justify it, they afford great money facilities to the farmer, mechanic, and manufacturer.

Notwithstanding the great benefits thus conferred by the national banks, the leaders of the Democracy say that they must be destroyed; that Congress had no constitutional right to establish them: that this right belongs only to the States, and that banks under the laws of the State only should be established. Hundreds of our people have a vivid recollection of the old State-rights banks brought into existence after the destruction of the United States Bank, during the administration of General Jackson. Their notes had only a local circulation, and men going from one State to another, and often from one county to another, could not pass them except at a discount! And when these State-rights banks broke, as they often did, it was at the loss of the unfortunate bill-holder. How different from the national-bank notes, which now (thanks to Republican legislation) are at par in all the great commercial marts of the world! Do the people wish to go back to the old State-rights banks? If so, let them place the "solid South" again in power.

The Republicans say that the honor of the NATION *must* be maintained by the payment of our national debt. A recent report from the Treasury Department shows that the expenditure growing out of the Democratic rebellion amounted to **$6,189,929,808.88.** This, however, is but dross when contrasted with the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives and the suffering and anguish of the handreds of thousands of widows and orphans caused by the rebellion.

The very men who brought all this woe and suffering upon the country have again banded together in a "solid South" to again rule or ruin the country. Will the people of the North and great West permit it to be done? That question must be answered at the polls in November.

A national debt of $1,797,643,000.00, for which bonds have been issued, is yet unpaid. Let the rebels of the "solid South" have

control of the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches of the government, and these bonds will be repudiated, as they have already repudiated the bonds of several of their States. They are already paving the way for it by denouncing those who own the bonds as heartless Shylocks who have no claim on them for sympathy or payment.

Who are these bond-holders? There is a schedule of the owners of the four-per-cent. registered bonds printed at the Government Printing-Office every three months, by which the interest is paid. It contains the names of 20,141 persons, 7,683 of whom hold bonds for $500 and less in amount. Among this number are the names of 3,687 women, many of them, no doubt, the widows of husbands killed by these men. These *are* the Shylocks who have no claim upon rebel sympathy, and whose bonds are to be repudiated should the "solid South" control the government. They will justify this by saying to themselves, "This money was borrowed to prevent us from establishing *our* confederacy, and why should we aid in paying it?" That is *their* regard for the plighted faith of the Nation! They will not stop at that. They will, also, either repudiate the payment of pensions to Union soldiers, or add the rebel soldiers to the list. Should it be said that this is prevented by the amendments to the Constitution, the reply is at hand, as illustrated by a recent act of a Democratic court. They will so reorganize the Supreme Court as to obtain a majority of the judges, to do which a bill was introduced at the last session of Congress by Mr. Manning, of Mississippi. This accomplished, the court will then decide that these amendments were not constitutionally adopted, as the Democratic Supreme Court of Indiana has done in relation to the recent amendments to the Constitution of that State. They will then have full sway. Bills are now pending in Congress to pay over three hundred millions of dollars to rebels now barred by these amendments. Take them out of the way, who doubts the payment of these claims? This is no idle surmise to alarm the people. Let sober-minded men reflect, and they will

be convinced that this will be accomplished in the event of the control of the government going into the hands of the "solid South." Are the people of the North and West prepared for this? Then let them vote for it in November.

The maintenance of such duties on foreign manufactured goods coming into our ports as shall enable our laborers, mechanics, and manufacturers to enter into fair competition with the poorly-paid labor of Europe, for our own markets, is another Republican measure whose existence depends upon the result of the pending elections.

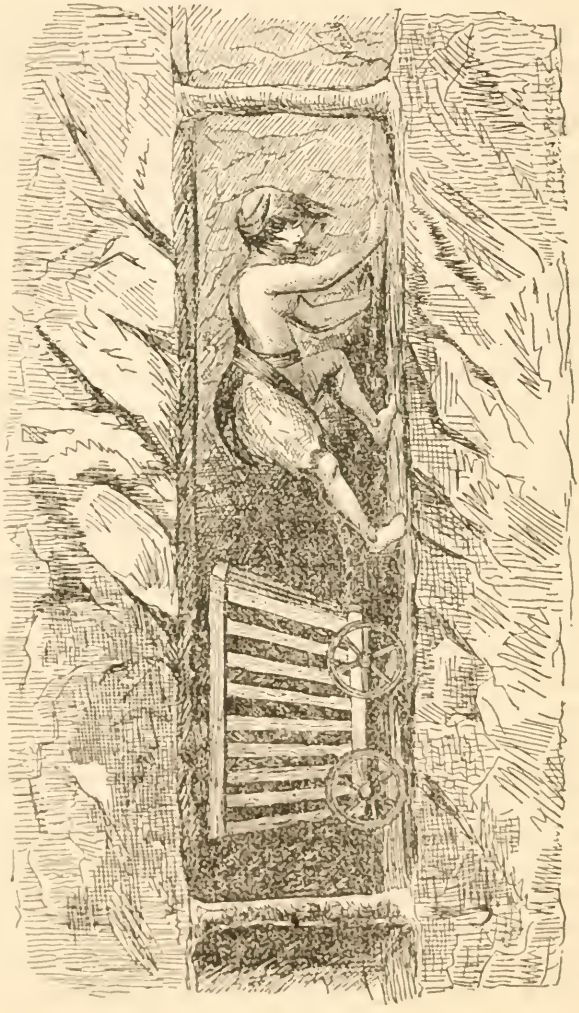
The leaders of the Democracy of the "solid South" now, as always heretofore, dictate the measures of that party. Educated in the Calhoun school of politics, they are in favor of what they call "free trade." Apprehending that the time has not yet come for an open avowal of this doctrine, they so far concealed their ultimate and real object as to declare at Cincinnati for a "tariff for revenue only," as they did four years ago at St. Louis. The meaning of this is, that there shall be no tariff on articles coming in competition with articles manufactured by our own people, because that would be protection, to which they are opposed. This they call in their platform a "tariff for revenue only." Such a tariff would enable foreign manufacturers to undersell and break down our mechanics and manufacturers, because of the starvation prices paid by the former for labor, which enters so largely into the cost of the manufacture of every article coming into market.

The people of this country have but an imperfect idea of the real condition of and the wages paid those who labor in the mines, workshops, and manufacturing establishments of Europe. A few years ago a commission was instituted by Parliament, in England, to inquire into that condition and as to the wages paid. The facts communicated, after a thorough examination of witnesses, were of the most horrible character. They found that in many of the coal-mines men, women, boys, and girls were working together in an almost naked condition. They say: "In the Lancashire coal-fields lying to the north and west of Manchester, females are regularly employed in underground labor, and the brutal conduct of the men and the abasement of the women are well described by some of the witnesses examined by them." A witness, Peter Garkel, collier, said that he "prefers women to boys as drawers; they are better to manage, and keep time better; they will fight and shriek,

and do every thing but let anybody pass them." Betty Harris, (one of numerous persons examined.) aged thirty-seven, drawer in a coal-pit, said: "*I have a belt around my waist and a chain between my legs to the truck, and I go on my hands and feet;* the road is very steep, and we have to hold by a rope, and when there is no rope, by anything we can catch hold of. There are six women and about six boys or girls in the pit I work in; it is very wet, and the water comes over our clog-tops always, and I have seen it up to my thighs; my clothes are always wet." Patience Kershaw, aged seventeen, another person examined, said: "I work in the clothes I now have on [trousers and ragged jacket]; the bald place upon my head is made by thrusting the cones; the getters I work for are naked, except their caps; they pull off their clothes: all the men are naked." Margaret Hibbs, aged eighteen, said: "My employment after reaching the wall-face is to fill my bagie or stype with two and a half or three hundred weight of coal; I then hook it on to my chain and drag it through the seam, which is from twenty-six to twenty-eight inches high, till I get to the main road, a good distance, probably two hundred to four hundred yards: the pavement I drag over is wet, and I am obliged at all times to crawl on my hands and feet with my bagie hung to the chain and ropes. It is sad, sweating, sore, and fatiguing work, and frequently maims the women." Robert Bald, the government coal-viewer, states, that "In surveying the workings of an extensive colliery under ground, a married woman came forward groaning under an excessive weight of coals, trembling in every nerve, and almost unable to keep her knees from sinking under her. On coming up, she said, in a plaintive and melancholy voice, 'Oh, sir, this is sore, sore, sore work.'" A sub-commissioner said: "It is almost incredible that human beings can submit to such employment—crawling on hands and knees, harnessed like horses, over soft, slushy floors, more difficult than dragging the same weight through our lowest sewers." Hundreds of pages are filled with testimony of the same revolting character.

The wood-cut illustration of these facts is reproduced from Cobden's book, entitled "The White Slaves of England," to which the reader is referred for an extended account of the condition of those who labor in England. *These miserable human beings are paid less than twenty cents per day!*

The evidence shows almost as terrible a condition of the em-



"OH, SIR, THIS IS SORE, SORE, SORE WORK."

ployees of the workshops and large manufacturing establishments. We have no room for the shocking details.

The leaders of the "solid South" resolved at Cincinnati that our workmen, mechanics, and manufacturers shall not be protected against the influx into this country of the productions of laborers whose condition compels them to work for starvation wages! They are opposed to protection, and go for a "revenue tariff only."

If those who work in our coal-mines, workshops, and manufacturing establishments desire to be put on the same footing with those employed at like work in foreign countries, let them vote with the "solid South" in November.

A book has recently been written in England and sent here for circulation among our farmers, in which they are told that they pay many millions a year more for American goods than they would for British goods were our tariff laws repealed. A more gross insult to the common sense and intelligence of our farmers could not be given. Every one of them knows that were our mines, workshops, and manufacturing establishments closed, as they would be under a revenue tariff, our markets would be at the mercy of foreign manufacturers and their importers. They would compel the farmers to pay their own prices for every article, or to do without. Instead of attempting to interfere with *our* affairs, it would be quite as well for the author of this book to attend to his own. We can take care of ours. General Garfield, in his letter of acceptance, well says: "WE MUST LEGISLATE FOR OUR OWN COUNTRY, AND NOT FOR THE WHOLE WORLD." Each country must take care of itself. Our farmers know what is best for them, and will pay but little heed to the interested advice of this author.

If, in the course of the present canvass, some little bandy-legged demagogue, who wants to wriggle himself into Congress, (as is most apt to be the case,) shall attempt to prejudice you against the protection of your own labor, by telling you that you pay the amount of the duty imposed on every article more than you would do were it not imposed, ask him to name the article manufactured in this country the price of which has been increased by protection. He may make the assertion, but don't take his word,—demand the proof. He cannot give it, because the evidence is to the contrary. The effect of protection, as established by experience,

has been to reduce the price we paid foreign manufacturers when they had control of our markets under a mere revenue tariff. No well-informed honest man will dare dispute this historical fact. Competition among our manufacturers, governed by the law of supply and demand, has reduced and will continue to keep down prices to the lowest possible point of profit to the manufacturers after paying reasonable wages to those in their employment.

This little bandy-legged demagogue will be most likely to select salt, as its use is so essential to the people. With hypocritical tears streaming down his cheek, he will deplore the hardship of the poor man because of the duty on this article. Send him to Congress and he will relieve the poor people from this terrible oppression! Admit, for a moment, that the duty has increased the price to the extent of the duty, and see how ridiculous the little fellow becomes! The duty is from eight to twelve cents per hundred pounds, according to the grade. It is estimated, by taking the quantity of salt consumed per annum and the number of adult persons in the United States, that the duty amounts to the enormous sum of about six cents per annum for each individual! Are not the sufferings of the poor on this account intolerable? Tell the little demagogue to hasten to find the smallest possible gimlet-hole in which to hide!

It is not true, however, that the duty has increased the price. The very contrary is the fact, as the following will show:

From 1856 to 1860 the duty on salt was one and one-half cents per hundred pounds, and Syracuse packing salt sold at Chicago for $1.75 per barrel. In 1871, with the highest protective duty it has ever had, it sold at an average of only $1.40 per barrel. Let any one compare the price paid in 1860 with what is now paid, and he will see that it has been reduced by the protection given our manufacturers. The present duty, however, does not prevent foreign importation, as the books at the Treasury Department show that 16,000,000 pounds were imported during the last fiscal year. The duty now imposed simply encourages our own people in States where salt springs exist to manufacture it, giving employment to thousands of laborers at fair wages, and protecting the people against the high prices paid to foreigners when they controlled our markets. These facts apply to and illustrate every article manufactured in this country, the labor to produce which is protected by the existing tariff.

Experience is often a hard school, but the lessons taught in it are far more valuable than mere theories, however plausible the latter may be. In 1846 the "solid South," under the lead of Calhoun, the archfiend of nullification, repealed the protective tariff of 1842 and passed what they called "a tariff for revenue only." In a very few years it resulted in breaking up our workshops, foundries, and manufacturing establishments. Hundreds of thousands thus thrown out of employment became tillers of the soil. Soon produce, from excessive production and want of a home market, rotted in the barns of our farmers. "Like causes produce like results." Let the "solid South" again have control, and, in accordance with their pledge given at Cincinnati, another "revenue tariff" will be enacted with the same inevitable result. Those who want to build up and support workshops and manufacturing establishments in Europe in preference to our own country, should vote for a revenue tariff and against protection.

Having set forth the principles and measures of public policy to be determined at the election, it is well to take a look at the candidates for the Presidency.

The leaders of the "solid South" have presented General Hancock as their candidate, not that they care anything more for him now than when they attempted to kill him at Gettysburg, when he was one of "Lincoln's hirelings," as they then called him, but because they know that his election will restore them to the control of the government. They dare not nominate any one of their prominent public men, because they had all either been rebels or rebel sympathizers. They thought to deceive the Union people by the nomination of a man who had fought for the Union. Or, in plain English, they baited a rebel hook with a Union general, in the hope that it would be swallowed by a sufficient number of Union soldiers to give them the election! They have already found out that, like all other devices to deceive an intelligent people, it has ignominiously failed. There are no Union soldiers so blind as not to see the deception, nor so dumb as not to denounce it.

General Hancock was educated at West Point, at the expense of the people, the only institution in this country of exclusive and aristocratic tendencies. The cadets there are taught to believe that they are made of better material than common folks, and hence it was that West Point officers lorded it over those who

volunteered from the ranks of the people during the Democratic rebellion. It is not in the nature of things that a man educated exclusively for military life, without any other kind of experience, can be fit for civil employment. He has never mixed with the people, and can know nothing of the ordinary affairs of life so essential to a man at the head of the government.

Altogether different is the man nominated by the Republicans. A more completely self-made man than General Garfield was never in public life in any country. Born of poor parents and losing his father when a mere child, he was left to his own efforts to make his way through the world. Commencing life as a poor, ragged, barefooted boy, earning a scanty living by driving mules on the tow-path of a canal, he made himself master of ancient and modern languages, learned in the exact sciences, and accomplished in all the knowledge to be derived from reading and experience to render him a statesman in the fullest meaning of the word. Let any man ask himself, in the honesty of his heart, uninfluenced by partisan feeling, which of these two men is the better fitted for the Presidency? There can be no doubt as to his answer. He will say that the man who has worked his way up from the people—who has mixed with and suffered with them in their struggles with poverty—who knows their wants and the wants of the country, is far better fitted than the man educated as a mere soldier, having no other experience.

As the result of Republican policy, we have for the transaction of business a circulating medium which commands the confidence of the civilized world; we have a home and foreign market for the produce of our soil at fairly remunerative prices; we have employment for those who work in the mines, workshops, and manufacturing establishments at wages almost three times greater than is received by persons thus employed in any other portion of the globe; while all the means of living are not only more abundant with us, but are obtainable at much cheaper rates. Our people are more prosperous and happy than any other people on earth. Why should not the party which has wrought all this be continued in power? Why destroy it, and go back to a policy which common sense and experience declare must result in ruin?

Four years ago the people placed the grand old Ship of State in charge of one who had distinguished himself as a volunteer-soldier statesman, in full confidence that she would be in safe



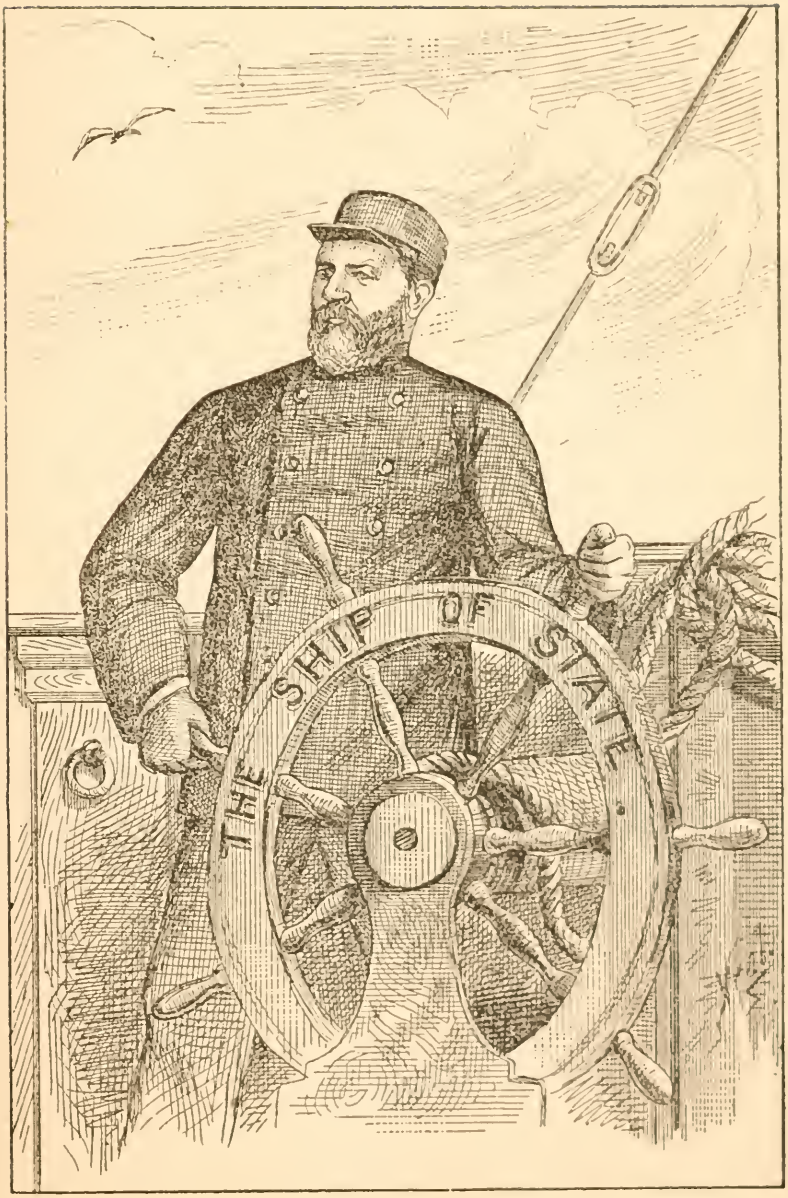
hands. That confidence was well placed. Under his wise guidance she has weathered all the storms that beset her, and now rides majestically in the haven of success and prosperity.

"Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all the hope of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate."

And as sure as there is a Divine Providence that controls the destinies of nations, this goodly ship will never be delivered into the hands of the traitorous mutineers who attempted her destruction, but, on the fourth of next March, will be handed over to another volunteer-soldier statesman, JAMES A. GARFIELD, whose whole course in life has established his eminent fitness to stand at the helm.

JOHN D. DEFREES.

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THE SHIP OF STATE

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